

**LET THE STORM OF REVOLUTION
BURST OUT POWERFULLY**

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NO.449

TIRANA, 1968

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LET THE STORM OF REVOLUTION BURST OUT POWERFULLY

*(Reproduced from the «Zëri i Popullit» daily,
dt. May, 17, 1968)*

THE "NAIM FRASHËRI" PUBLISHING HOUSE
TIRANA, 1968

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The great changes that have taken place and are taking place in the world as a result of the struggle of the peoples have created and are continually creating a situation favourable to the revolutionary forces that are struggling for social emancipation and national liberation, for the building of a new world without capitalists and colonialists. The fundamental problem now facing the genuine communists and revolutionaries, both in the capitalist countries as well as where the revisionists are ruling, is that they should act with courage and in a consistent revolutionary way in the fight against imperialism and its tools — the modern revisionists.

The world capitalist bourgeoisie has mobilized all its forces and is striving to extinguish the revolution where it has started, to prevent it where it is about to start and to wipe it out where it has triumphed. The bourgeoisie has placed the modern revisionists, the basest and most diabolic traitors to Marxism-Leninism, on the vanguard of its brutal ideological and political fight. In these conditions, modern revisionism poses a great and immediate danger to revolution and socialism.

Why do the Marxist-Leninists insist on this

issue, why do they describe modern revisionism as a great danger to revolution and socialism, why do they always call on the revolutionaries to close their ranks and to fight boldly and without compromise up to the complete ideological and political destruction of revisionism?

The answer is clear. Modern revisionism constitutes such a danger because it is headed by the Soviet revisionists who have usurped the helm of the Communist Party and the Soviet State, of the country where the October Revolution was carried out and where socialism triumphed for the first time. It constitutes such a danger because revisionism has seized power in many countries of people's democracy, because the revisionist cliques have seized the leadership and the apparatus of the party in many communist and workers' parties of the world, where the main cadres have become bourgeoisified. They exploit the traditions of organisation of the working people for their own aims, keep the trade unions of the workers and their bourgeoisified apparatus and cadres under their direction. The revisionists have colossal funds and materials at their disposal to finance political, ideological and organisational diversion throughout the world, they have great propaganda means to distort Marxist-Leninist theory to revise it and to present this distortion as «an actual and realistic development in the conditions of our epoch», in short, to adapt in a camouflaged way the revised Marxism-Leninism to the interests of the bourgeoisie whom they serve with zeal.

In these conditions, the revisionists are striving to identify themselves with communists. According

to the propaganda they conduct, they present their modern revisionism as «international communism». In the eyes of the revisionists «the alliance of the international proletariat» is but the alliance of the revisionist cliques and «proletarian internationalism» is for them in fact the revisionist Trotskyite internationalism.

The evil is that the efforts for the identification of modern revisionism with international communism, putting them on a par, are not being made only by the chiefs of modern revisionism. The wrong viewpoints spread by them find a place even in many Soviet communists, indeed in a part of the Soviet working class. The Soviet revisionist party in the lead of the strong anti-Marxist trend of present-day revisionism greatly contributes to the preservation of these viewpoints, and what is worse, to mixing the wheat with the tares and hampering revolution.

Likewise, not all the communists of various countries and the world proletariat have as yet properly realized that there exists today in the Soviet Union a so-called communist party which has nothing in common with the Bolshevik Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin. The present-day party in the Soviet Union is a revisionist, counter-revolutionary, anti-communist party. It is «communist» only by name, it poses as Leninist but it has distorted Lenin from top to bottom in everything. It pretends to be building communism, but in practice it is restoring capitalism and helping the other revisionist parties to tread the same road. If the communist party of the Soviet Union was formerly of the bolsheviks, today

the revisionist party of the Soviet Union is of the new mensheviks, Trotzkyites and Bukharinists.

However, despite the fact that not all the communists and the working class of the Soviet Union see that their old heroic party has changed and degenerated, Bolshevism cannot disappear and the Bolsheviks cannot reconcile themselves with the tragedy they are living, they cannot sit by with folded arms. Some signs of their revolutionary revival are appearing and they are encouraging.

The Khrushchovite Black Bands Are Striving to Close Their Ranks Against the Bolsheviks and the Working Class

The Khrushchovite chieftains who are proclaiming like the Popes «urbi et orbi» that they are «building up communism» in the Soviet Union, that antagonistic classes have disappeared there and so has the class struggle, are now demanding from the party that it should «establish an iron discipline». For whom and against whom is this iron discipline required on which the chief revisionist Leonid Brezhnev insisted at the party conference of the city of Moscow in the last week of March and which is now clamourously trumpeted abroad by the whole Soviet revisionist press?

The iron «discipline» demanded by the Soviet leaders is a discipline of the black bands, of the new revisionist social-revolutionaries, which at first sight seems to be directed against the ultra-

rightist elements who, born in the atmosphere created by the Khrushchov course itself and encouraged now by the events in Czechoslovakia and Poland, have started to step up their activities. The Brezhnev-Kosygin group fears lest it should suffer the fate of Khrushchov, or Novotny, lest one day these «liberals», if they are given much freedom, will overthrow the clique in power. By attacking the extremist revisionists. Brezhnev and company are seeking, on the one hand, to keep the latter in check, to control the process of bourgeois degeneration and, on the other hand, to take advantage of the hatred and contempt of the working masses towards these elements and to win them over and rely on them in every situation that would jeopardize their ruling position.

At the same time the Soviet revisionist leaders, by criticizing the ultra-rightists, are striving to create the illusion that they fight not only against the «dogmatists», but also against «the revisionists», that they allegedly pursue the «Leninist» road of the struggle on two fronts. As a matter of fact, these tactics are aimed at consolidating the positions of the clique in power and at intensifying, at their ease and with the least possible troubles, the fight against Marxism-Leninism, revolution and socialism. These are dangerous tactics which must be exposed and smashed. There should be no illusion that the degenerate Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, lately submerged in treachery, can be brought to its senses by the events in Czechoslovakia, Poland and the activation of the «liberals» inside the Soviet Union. The fight against the «ultras» is a fight among the revisionist cliques for power. Nothing can

correct these cliques. Only the revolution for the overthrow of those in power or who are struggling for power, will embark the Soviet party and State on the correct road opened by the October Revolution.

It is precisely this revolution which is feared more than anything else by the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique. They fear the masses of the people more than the «liberals». They are well aware that an open activation of the ultra-revisionist forces in the Soviet Union of great revolutionary traditions cannot take place so easily as in Czechoslovakia. Such a process in the Soviet Union could not help giving rise to the resistance and revolt of the bolshevik revolutionaries, of the working class and of others, which would sweep away the Khrushchovite ruling clique together with the «ultras». Therefore, the «discipline» demanded by Brezhnev is directed, in the first place and above all, against the bolsheviks, against the people, against all those who dare or would dare to rise against the revisionist treachery.

The course of the recent events in Czechoslovakia and Poland has caused very serious headaches to the Soviet revisionists. They are not only deepening the revisionist split, not only causing a lack of balance in political attitudes, disintegration in the mutual economic relations, but they are even causing non observance of their military-political treaties.

With regard to the Soviet revisionists, these events seriously affect the very policy and internal structure of their regime. If the Brezhnev-Kosygin-Podgorny clique had thought so far that, after

having got rid of Khrushchov, they had created a certain internal stability, the events in Czechoslovakia, Poland and in certain other countries created deep faltering within its leadership and showed that its «stability» was weak. Thus it was confirmed once more that there is not and there will never be stability in the Soviet revisionist leadership.

This great uneasiness is clearly evident in revisionist Brezhnev's speech. That is why he laid the greatest stress on the question of the «unity» in the party, «Leninist unity» between the party and the working class, the «iron unity» between the people and the «Leninist central committee» and such other idle talk!

Real unity can be spoken of only in a Marxist-Leninist party and is achieved on the basis of the correct line, of the undistorted Marxist-Leninist principles, on the basis of the pure Leninist norms of the party. But in the present day revisionist party of the Soviet Union one cannot speak either of Marxist-Leninist unity or of any of those principles which form, preserve and temper it. This happens because there is not and there cannot be identity of views and unity of action among the various revisionist cliques ruling in the revisionist party of the Soviet Union and in the Soviet State.

The bolshevik unity formulated and implemented by Lenin, Stalin and by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin-Stalin is the unity that the Marxist-Leninist parties need, and it is precisely this unity that the modern revisionists fight against, seek to destroy, and can never attain.

The bolshevik unity was achieved in fierce and

uninterrupted struggle, led by Lenin, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party not only against the external enemies, the imperialists and capitalists, but also against Czarism and all the capitalist bourgeois parties of its regime, against the pseudo-revolutionary parties during and after the Revolution, against the left socialist revolutionaries, Trotskyites, Zinovievists, Bukharinists and all the other opportunists, rightists and «leftists», agents of the bourgeoisie and reaction, inside and outside of the party.

Bolshevik unity eliminated the anti-Leninist factions in the Bolshevik Party. It did not allow and could never allow, either legally or illegally, the existence of factions in the Marxist-Leninist party. If the opposite is the case and if they do not strive for the total smashing of all kind of factions, the communist party can never be called a Leninist party, because on the main issue it will have then rejected these principles and those norms which make it the organized Marxist-Leninist detachment of the proletariat. Such a party loses, eliminates the ultimate aim of its existence as a monolithic party of the proletariat, for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, for the building of socialism and communism. Such a party is transformed into an arena where separate groups, with separate interests, with separate aims, struggle for supremacy, for power. Such a party strives to preserve only the disguise, the external aspect of a single party, with a view to deceiving and nothing else.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has degenerated today into such a party. There does not and cannot exist unity in the present-day revisionist party of the Soviet Union. The-

refore the question arises: what unity do the Soviet revisionists headed by Brezhnev, speak about?

They call for a unity of the various cliques within the party and in the leadership of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union in face of the great dangers threatening them both from outside and inside.

The danger to them from within is great. It stems both from the split within their revisionist fold, and also from the good revolutionary traditions of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, traditions which the Soviet revisionists are striving to suppress, to cause them to degenerate or demagogically harness them to their own interests.

These traditions were created by the Great October Revolution and the fight of the bolsheviks, by the ideas of Lenin and Stalin, on the basis of which a great party was formed and tempered, the dictatorship of the proletariat was established, the first socialist State of the workers and peasants was set up, socialism was successfully built up, the national question, so much complicated in the Soviet Union, was correctly settled, too. In the process of the class struggle, energetically led by Lenin and Stalin, the dictatorship of the proletariat was strengthened, the consciousness of the working people was raised and tempered, the alliance of the working class and peasantry was consolidated, factions inside and outside the party were smashed and the possibilities of vegetation, be it in silence or as a matter of form, of the nuclei of the other allegedly progressive bourgeois parties were removed. From the victory of the revolution and until now there has been only

one party in the Soviet Union — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union laid down the tradition of a single party in power; since the revolution, the younger generations of the Soviet Union have recognized only one party, therefore they are connected with this tradition.

With the advent of the Khrushchovites to power, the socialist system built up in the Soviet Union was frontally attacked under the mask of passing over to communism. The dictatorship of the proletariat was attacked under the mask of the «power of the whole people», which means «liberalization» of the power. The traitors to the revolution, traitors of all shades were rehabilitated and the ground was prepared for the restoration of the new capitalist social basis, with a new structure and superstructure. The proclamation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the party of the whole people is a bridge spanning the opportunist swamp and the elimination of all the revolutionary traditions of the Bolshevik Communist Party. All this creates favourable conditions for the liquidation also of the tradition of the single leading party, although this is not in the interest of the hegemony of the big Soviet revisionist State and of the connection of different nationalities living in the Soviet Union.

Soviet modern revisionism means splitism while strict implementation and defence of the teachings of Lenin-Stalin means unity. On the basis of these teachings the question of nationalities was correctly resolved and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics was created. Only the defence of the ideas of Lenin and Stalin can preserve the unity of the

Soviet Union and of the nationalities making it up. Khrushchov modern revisionism will smash the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the Leninist unity among the nationalities.

The creation of other revisionist bourgeois parties in the Soviet Union will come about as a later result of the disintegration and degeneration of the Soviet Union, both from the political and ideological and moral viewpoint, as well as from the economic-State viewpoint. The road of revisionism is the road of treachery to communism, of concessions to the bourgeoisie, of nationalism. Experience shows that the deeper the process of revisionist degeneration unfolds, the more concessions are made to the imperialists, to the bourgeoisie and to various nationalists. The new revisionist cliques which come to power after upsetting the old cliques are ever more prepared to advance on this road. The Soviet revisionists, too, will make concessions both to the domestic bourgeoisie and to the nationalism of their various Republics, just as they are doing with the imperialists and in their relations with their revisionist allies in other countries.

The Soviet revisionists pose as internationalists and accuse Tito and Dubcek of being nationalist and chauvinistic, as they are indeed, but in fact the Soviet revisionist leaders themselves are as much, if not more so, nationalist and chauvinistic. In order to camouflage their traitorous features they have re-arranged the leadership by bringing in individuals from different nationalities, in order to give the impression that the different nationalities of the Soviet Union are represented. But in fact their entire activity is characterized by big State chau-

vinism, by the Russian-Ukrainian tendency to domination, by a nationalist reactionary policy which can only lead to domination by force, which will lead to the split of the Union.

Total degeneration will come about as a result of the division of the Soviet Union into different national States, ruled by capitalist bourgeois cliques that will seize power in them. The process of Titoite degeneration in the national question, not to speak of other aspects, the process of the disintegration of the party in Czechoslovakia and the revival of the national chauvinistic feelings of the Czechs and Slovaks, are merely a prelude of the great revisionist symphony which will be played in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet revisionists will strive hard, by all means, to avoid this thorough disintegration because such a thing is not to their interest as a big dominating capitalist State but, in such a case they will show themselves to be big nation chauvinists and they will be unable any longer to deceive anyone by the mask of a socialist State. They will continue to strive in their own interests, to preserve the tradition of a single leading party, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But the struggle of various revisionist factions within the party and in the leadership will take place for a long time inside the party, in the leadership, but it will pass also outside of it to the parties of the Republics and to the Republics themselves.

In the struggle for power the revisionist cliques will not fail to exploit the tradition of the Bolshevik Communist Party against factionists and deviationists. Under this disguise Khrushchov and the Khrushchovites, in addition to the preparation of

the ground from the politico-ideological and organisational viewpoint against Stalin and Leninism, attacked the Molotov group as anti-party. Later the elimination of Khrushchov himself and his supporters occurred.

Nevertheless, in the Soviet leadership and in the whole party deep divergencies exist. There exist active groups struggling for domination, as a result there exists also a fierce struggle among them. The clique that will rule temporarily will strive to weaken the opponent cliques, to neutralize them and, finally if they become dangerous, to eliminate them attaching to them the «anti-party group» label, because the pseudo-party is for them, for the time being, the pivot which can deceive the masses of the Soviet people, accustomed to this tradition. Above all, the cliques that will win and rule will effectively rely on the weapons of their dictatorship, on their Security Forces and on their Armies.

It is a fact that in all the revisionist countries, the Khrushchovites, from the very outset, attacked the Security Force, the Ministry of Home Affairs, systematically «purging» the Security Service. They did not take such a measure against the Army. What does this show in general? This shows that the Soviet revisionists did not aim only at completing their calumnies against Stalin, but they attacked the Security Force as it constituted one of the dangers to their treachery. This means that the Soviet Security Force was tempered and seasoned in the struggle against the enemies of the class and the dictatorship, irrespective of the mistakes it might have made.

Now, in general, the revisionists have purged

the Security Force of opponents and they have it for themselves. But whose is it, of which clique? Of the most powerful one. This is confirmed by the removal of Shelepin and Semichasny, two new revisionists who are, for certain, opposed to the others. They acted likewise in the Army, but here not so brutally. Considering it as a great and dangerous force, they acted and are acting cautiously, especially, through its leaders, there they caress the leaders, they remove cadres by tens of thousands, they decorate them, they give them villas, they pension them off, they expose them to suspicion, etc. The main tendency, as everywhere in the Army, too, is degeneration and apoliticalism, attaching the leaders to the cariot of the most powerful clique with a view to using the Army as a weapon of counter-revolutionary oppression and violence.

The Soviet revisionist take great care so that the degeneration of the party, of the State and economy should not occur in a chaotic way as the clown charlatan, Khrushchov, started it, and was eliminated because he was causing premature dangers to them. Khrushchov's successors, causing the party to degenerate, in appearance preserve the forms of general organisation. They effect many organisations and reorganisations in various administrations, but, to mask themselves, they preserve the general forms of the State. They speak of a «modification of the constitution» and they are allegedly working for this, but they do not make haste. They are undermining the Soviet Power, but at the same time they seek to place masks on it, to preserve the socialist appearance.

As regards the organisation of economy, the

changes they are making in this direction, they are advancing more openly towards the liquidation of socialist economy and its transformation into a capitalist economy. And it cannot happen otherwise as it is something which cannot be masked. This is required by the objectivity of the creation of the new revisionist capitalist class, it is required by the interest of the cliques in power, it is required by the new alliances with world capitalism and, in the first place, with U.S. imperialism, it is required by the need of their bourgeois dictatorship, which oppresses and will always oppress more forcefully the masses of the people and revolution inside and will activate the struggle for hegemony outside.

But it is not only the revisionist cliques that work and act in this whole process which is taking place in the Soviet Union and in the fold of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union. True, they actually rule through a single leading party, as the bolsheviks were ruling previously, but this does not mean that in the fold of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union and outside of the party, in the fold of the class and of the masses, bolshevism, too, is not working, though now it is in minority, in half illegality or in thorough illegality.

In the leadership of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union there are no overt bolsheviks, but there are no covert ones either. This shows that in the Soviet Union, unlike in other countries, the bolsheviks may have started or will start their work inside the party, as a still small faction and in complete secrecy, just as they may start or may have started it outside the party, or simultaneously from within and from outside to reestablish the glorious

Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin. The Soviet revolutionaries will, for sure, exploit also the tested forms, methods and tactics of the Bolshevik Party. They will take into account also the new circumstances and conditions and they will know how to take advantage of them. The experience that will be gained will certainly be of great importance to the future.

The course of events in the world and in the international communist movement has clearly shown to us that the Soviet revisionists, in close alliance with U.S. imperialism, have become avowed and cunning enemies of revolution and of the liberation struggles of the peoples of the world.

In the international arena they claim to act on behalf of the Soviet Union, in the international communist movement they claim to act on behalf of Leninism, on behalf of the Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This is a great danger threatening the freedom of the peoples, of revolution, socialism and communism.

The Party of Labor of Albania has exposed, fought and will expose and fight these deceptive positions seized by the Soviet revisionists through to the end, for it thinks that this is the only Marxist-Leninist road of revolutionary struggle to distinguish between the Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin and the present Soviet revisionist party, to distinguish between the Soviet Union created and built up by Lenin, Stalin and the bolsheviks and the present-day Soviet Union which the Soviet modern revisionists have caused to degenerate.

Without making this distinction, and without waging this fierce uncompromising struggle against the revisionist trend and the means of its regime and power, the fight against the U.S. — led world imperialism cannot be properly waged nor can world revolution advance at the required speed.

The great interests of the Soviet peoples and revolutionaries, the interests of world communism, demand that the real socialist Soviet Union should be renewed, just as Lenin, Stalin and the bolsheviks created it. The interests of revolution demand that the real socialist Soviet Union should be strong, with inviolable international authority, as it was at the time of Lenin and Stalin. Now the Khrushchovite revisionists have lowered to the ground the prestige and authority both of the Soviet Union and of its Communist Party. From this situation the real Soviet Union, the offspring of the October Revolution, must be rescued, but how can this be achieved? There is only one road and this is the road of the revolutionary struggle for the destruction of the revisionist clique now ruling in the Soviet Union. This is a historic task facing the working class of the Soviet Union, the real bolsheviks and Soviet revolutionaries. The tempest of a second great proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union will wipe the Khrushchevite revisionists from the earths' face.

The Contradictions Among the Revisionist Cliques Have Degenerated Into a Life And Death Struggle Among Them

It is a fact now that the hegemony of the Soviet revisionists in the revisionist camp is being split, as revisionism, being a bourgeois trend, has in its fold numerous contradictions and it encounters the opposition of its partners and allies in practice. We are today witnessing the fact that the revisionist cliques, whether in power or not, are quarreling with, separating from and opposing the Soviet revisionists. The Marxist-Leninists had long since forecast such a situation, therefore, no communist, no faction of the working class of any country must allow itself to be deceived by the allegedly «independent», «sovereign» actions of any revisionist clique, and should, not entertain the least illusion that these cliques have become «sensible men», inasmuch as they have departed from the Soviet revisionists. Decisive in judging this phenomenon is the class orientation, the class struggle, the loyalty to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and their implementation in a concrete and consistent way, bravely and without taking account of any sacrifice whatsoever.

We must bear in mind that the modern revisionists are not preoccupied so much now, as in the previous times, by the coordination among them of the revisionist stereotype formulas, fabricated in the Khrushchovite workshops of the Kremlin and zealously served at every soup by the revisionist neophytes. They became stale and were so much repeated that they are now worn out. They all left in the lurch the Khrushchevite empty phraseology. Every

revisionist group, whether in power or not, undertook, on behalf of «Leninism», to «liberate» itself for ever from every yoke, «especially from the yoke of the «dictatorship of the proletariat» and of the «Marxist-Leninist ideology». Every theory of theirs, not only of the revisionists, but also of their new ideological or political allies, was leading, in their opinion, to socialism with some impulses, with some slogans, with many lies, but «everything now was leading to socialism». Disruption became their main concern.

Every revisionist group now began to be free and to build up its plans of detachment and reunion, of destruction and reintegration. It followed from this, of course, based on the «brilliant Khrushchov theory», that every country, inasmuch as it has its own specifics, must build up also a specific socialism. And each revisionist country began to lend a less attentive ear to the stereotype phrases issued by the Kremlin workshop, it began to expound its own specific formulas, to formulate its own theories of how to organize the new capitalist State in its own country, how to adapt economy to this State, how to liquidate the Communist Party, how to create the other bourgeois parties and share power with them, how to win over the Security Force and the Army and, to change them from weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat into weapons against the proletariat and the working people.

In addition to these main directions, the revisionists in power in these countries were greatly concerned, in the first place, by the way and the form in which they would part with the Soviet revisionists. This was the big chain that had to be broken. They were bound by many overt and covert ideo-

logical, economic, political, cultural, military and other ties, state ties, interstate ties, ties of cliques, ties of individuals, espionage ties. A whole dirty network.

Of course there would take place among them, as is the case among gangsters, «a settlement of accounts». And this settlement of accounts has already started, indeed it has considerably advanced. Therefore, it is no more a question of «correcting the formulas of the theory», but of acting pistol in hand, «your purse or your life», so to say. The revisionists have started a life and death struggle among themselves.

The notorious Moscow meeting decided upon at the «Budapest Carnivals», as has now been shown by the other Budapest meeting of the commission for the preparation of the «summit», hardly indicates the aim for which it is to be convened, to establish «peace» in Vietnam, or to establish «peace» in the revisionist camp, that is to reconcile the revisionist gangsters who have drawn their daggers against one another. This conference is intended among other things to conceal the whole miserable situation the revisionist party of the Soviet Union finds itself in, and the defeats of the Soviet revisionists. This is not a communist conference and the various preparatory meetings that are being held resemble the backstages of the horse markets and trade exhibitions, where there have gathered all sorts of swindlers, traders, brigands striking up bargains, giving and taking signatures, words, rubles and dollars, to say this or that, this way or that way, to defend this or to insult that.

The new Budapest meeting showed still more clearly the further rottenness and degeneration of the

revisionist camp. There had elapsed only a few weeks from the previous meeting which was attended by 67 revisionist parties and hardly 54 parties were represented at the new session. Let us see how many will go to Moscow in November. There they will draw a balance-sheet, but it already seems that it will be a deplorable one. The new revisionist Budapest meeting, as to the number and quality of its participants, was a complete failure for the Soviet revisionists. That is why the major part of the participants were expelled and only 22 remained to prepare the hash to be served at the forthcoming Moscow meeting.

One of the main objectives of the meeting of these bandits will again be the fight against the Communist Party of China, of the Party of Labor of Albania and against Marxism-Leninism. They will never forget this inasmuch as the struggle which our Marxist-Leninist parties are waging for the exposure of revisionism hangs over their heads like the sword of Damocles. The role of the revisionist parties, their very existence, is to suppress revolution in their own countries and in the world and, in the first place, to subdue China and Albania, which hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, of revolution and of the liberation of the peoples.

A frantic campaign of attacks and slanders has been launched today by the modern revisionists against the great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and directly led by the outstanding Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, for it smashed the plot of the home and foreign revisionists against people's China, and it is a great inspiration for all the revolutionaries, the working class and the

laboring masses of the countries where the revisionists rule, in their struggle for the overthrow of the revisionist cliques in power.

Each day shows the weakness of the modern revisionists and precisely this year is becoming for them, and in the first place for the Soviet revisionists, a year of catastrophe. Czechoslovakia left them this year. Poland, too, is about to do so. Later it will be the turn of Hungary and Bulgaria. This year may see the German Democratic Republic isolated and sold out, the Warsaw Treaty almost inexistent, the Mutual Economic Aid Committee, their economic organisation, strangled. These problems of the Soviet revisionists will not be settled, for certain, either by the «revisionist bohemia», or by the «number» of the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries that come to meetings — to fairs to receive the promised rewards.

The great contradictions corroding the relations among the revisionists are ever more expressed in the form of underground putches and plots to overthrow one another and in the form of internal criticism in each party.

But all these troubles that have befallen the modern revisionists and in the first place the Soviet revisionists, are being covered up by the latter with the densest possible smokescreen so that neither the members of the revisionist Communist Party of the Soviet Union, nor the Soviet people can see clearly through them. And their propaganda is working precisely in this direction trying to muddle up the heads of the Soviet men and women, to make them more inert and more apolitical, to make them live and judge things by some formulas offered to them

by the leadership, to make them see no further than their noses and, in case they manage to see something a little further, to make them see them through the glasses of a megalomaniac. By speculating on and purposely inflating what may be a lawful pride of the Soviet citizen as of «being born in the country where Lenin was born», the country «of the first man to go the cosmos», «of the man who will be the first to go to the moon», etc, the Soviet leaders are seeking to make the Soviet people consider other people like flies, to think that others know nothing, that others are unimportant individualists, therefore, they should live under their shadow. In order to make people see things with the eye of a megalomaniac, the Soviet leaders need time and again to organise some great spectacle to serve this purpose. For this reason, they are organizing the anti-communist Moscow conference decided upon by the Budapest carnivals.

Can the modern revisionists act otherwise with regard to their parties and peoples? Can the modern revisionists act otherwise in the international communist movement? No, absolutely not.

Modern revisionism is afraid of the party, of the people and of the international communist movement, it is afraid to openly raise problems and to submit them to a serious criticism and a bolshevik analysis by the party, the people and international communism. It is afraid of being badly exposed and totally smashed. The revisionists serve up to their party what is in their interest, prepared, prettyfied, full of lies, distortions and calumnies. «Why did the party of Labor of Albania enter into conflict with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and with the

Soviet revisionist leadership?» «Quite simply», the revisionist traitors told the members of their party: «the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania and of the Albanian State sold themselves out to the western capitalists», and so on, and so forth.

The revisionist cliques in their countries have thrown heavy chains on the political and ideological struggle of the revolutionaries, the Leninist polemics. The modern revisionists are attacking Marxism-Leninism with all their means and forces, they are distorting it. The Party of Labor of Albania, remaining faithful to Marxism-Leninism and performing its internationalist duty, speaks openly and exposes with a principled courage all these treacheries that are being committed. It is precisely for this reason that the modern revisionists, jointly with their capitalist allies, attack the Party of Labor of Albania and have forced the law of silence about the truth which it spreads.

But whatever efforts the revisionists may make, they cannot conceal the rottenness and the out-and-out degeneration of their parties, in the same way as they cannot prevent the destruction of the revisionist front and the failure of the Soviet hegemony over it. No meeting, no gettogether whatsoever, be they two-party, five-party or more, such as those which were held in Moscow recently, can bring order to the revisionists herd. The big State chauvinism of the Soviet leaders, their efforts to dominate and subjugate their allies, favor and increase nationalist and centrifugal tendencies on the other side. Just as the struggle among the different groups constitutes one of the main features of the

political life inside every revisionist country, the divisions and conflicts among the revisionist countries characterize the basket of crabs of the modern revisionists.

The present outburst of disputes between the clique of the Soviet revisionists and its revisionist partners, on the one hand, as well as the disputes about the political, economic and military issues among the cliques of various revisionist countries, on the other, are easily to be seen. The contradictions among them are deep and can never be reconciled. In the not distant future we shall witness still greater clashes and disintegration the breadth and depth of which are already quite obvious.

Though the process of further degeneration of modern revisionism in various countries follows the same road and the same aims in general, it does not have identical characteristics in particular. This is due to the specific features of each country where the revisionist cliques are ruling. The analysis of the events in each revisionist country in particular, the forms and methods used by each particular revisionist group against Marxism-Leninism for the degeneration of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the dictatorship of the proletariat, are of special importance, not to be underestimated.

The fight the Marxist-Leninists wage against the revisionists must be waged on a wide front, but they should not forget also the particular fight against the particular revisionists, who use tactics which are not identical in attaining the same aim. Modern revisionism has its main common features, it has its identical strategy, but it uses different

forms and tactics to which special forms and tactics of fight must be opposed, for every situation, for every phase of its development, for every country and party where it appears, seizes power or takes the downward course.

Such an objective analysis is indispensable and must be made by all the Marxist-Leninist parties, revolutionary groups and all the communists and revolutionaries of every country that have seriously declared war on imperialism and its lackeys — the modern revisionists.

It is in Concrete Actions and Struggle that the Marxist-Leninist Party is Organized, that the Working Masses are Mobilized and Educated for Revolution

The working class in the countries where the revisionists have come to power must become conscious of the socially historic moments through which the world and, especially, their countries are passing. They must realize that they are faced with a great catastrophe and their situation is more complicated and more difficult than that of the proletariat in the countries where capital is ruling. The proletarians of the capitalist countries can see where the enemy hides himself and how he must be fought, while the working class in the countries where the revisionists — these new capitalists who pose as «Marxists» — are ruling, are being deceived, hoodwinked, are being enslaved. This working class which is being placed under the capitalist yoke has not even the right to speak nor the right to strike as

their comrades in capitalist countries have. Under the pretext that the workers cannot rise against «the regime of the workers», under the pretext that the dictatorship is «their own dictatorship, that the law are theirs and thus they have no reason to rise up, to move», the new capitalist class in power in the former socialist countries are spending their honey-moon with the western capitalists on those territories where the proletarians and peasants who fought for revolution under the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have shed rivers of their blood.

At the present stage of rottenness of imperialism we see the importance that the latter have placed on the stratum of the intelligentsia, the technocrats and bureaucrats, we see now that they have succeeded in corrupting a part of this stratum and have placed them in their own service, even in the van of their struggle to dominate the world, to suppress revolution and the national-liberation struggles of the peoples. This corrupted stratum in service of the capital are striving, by all the many means at their disposal, to corrupt, to deceive and neutralize the working class, the main and decisive force opposing capitalism. It is in this way and through this road that capitalism is seeking to lengthen its life-span.

This line is being broadly developed by modern revisionists both where they have come to power and where they have not. The corrupted intellectuals and bureaucrats have become and are becoming their mainstay to realize the transformation of socialist society into capitalist society. They are heading towards the subjugation of the working class, to-

wards the restriction to a minimum of their historic role in revolution and socialism, they are advancing towards their decomposition, corruption and transformation so that they may no longer be a political force but a mere economic appendage, a means intended not to rule but only to work for others, to produce a little for themselves and much for the new capitalist bourgeoisie who are being formed, precisely of the stratum of the intelligentsia, the bureaucrats, technocrats and the worker aristocracy.

In the countries where the revisionists are in power they are advancing more rapidly on this road opened up for them by world capitalism. But this general process likewise has its own differences in different revisionist countries which depend on the degree of the development of revisionism in each individual country.

The question may arise: how did this come about, this turning towards the right of a quite important part of the intelligentsia in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries? This turn, we may say, is a protracted process taking years, and it has not yet ended, the scales are still swinging. This has occurred, in addition to other things, as a result of the fact that the party in these countries has not sufficiently taken account of the question of the class ideological uplift of the intelligentsia in two directions. On the one side, while they were teaching ideology in theory they were not taking pains to tell those people, for example, what a pick was. This category of people that had schooling, whether they were sons of workers, employees, collective farmers, were swallowed up by the administration, offices, leaderships. They used to form the

«elite», so to speak, of the proletarian regime, the new proletarian intelligentsia filling the offices, the universities, the deans' offices, the directors offices, theatres, editorial boards etc. These used to become distinguished people, philosophers, artists, writers and they all bore the title of proletarian. Some of them really were and remained as such, but others were degenerating jointly with the administration, for the administration, from a means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was turning into a monster that dominated, strangled and directed at its will the power of the proletarians.

On the other hand, a large part of the intelligentsia went to production, living and working jointly with the working class and the peasantry. They acquired considerable technical skill, to which a special importance was attached, but little importance was attached to their ideological and political tempering.

In these two domains the bureaucratized «high proletarian intelligentsia», according to the tradition, had occupied the top positions and never thought of yielding them. They felt «very able», «unmatchable in knowledge», destined to lead and direct others, the masses, that is, the working class and the peasantry who «by nature» and «by functions» must only work, while the intelligentsia make the law, or more correctly, distort the proletarian law and use the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party, against socialism and against the party itself.

Thus, in the revisionist countries there are former proletarians or intellectualized, bourgeoisified, degenerate sons of proletarians, who have lost the class sense, who have occupied positions in the

party and the State after a long and complicated process, and now, through the strong apparatus of the party and State Power, they have paralyzed the proletarian Power and the party. As a matter of fact, in the revisionist countries neither the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat nor the party of the proletariat functions now.

In these circumstances it is indispensable that everywhere our Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionaries in the world should, in the first place, awaken the working class, open their eyes, arm them and throw them as quickly as possible into revolutionary battle. The proletarian revolution is one of the most serious questions of the life of all mankind and it is, in the first place, a political revolution. It must be firmly led and firmly organized, for it is, without any doubt whatsoever, at any time and in every country a bloody clash between the working class and the capitalist bourgeoisie. Therefore, in the forefront of this revolution must be the proletarians and their communist party. Without a properly organized communist party, with clear Marxist-Leninist political, organisational and ideological principles there is no revolution whatsoever, no proletarian revolution can triumph. History does not record a triumph under such conditions.

This is one of the questions of principle which the communists and the international working class must always bear in mind on their revolutionary road. The existence of really bolshevik parties of the Lenin-Stalin type is indispensable to the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists in the world, otherwise revolution cannot be organized and led. To succeed it is indispensable that every communist militant

in the world should become acquainted with the respective materials of the classic leaders of Marxism-Leninism about the questions of the proletarian revolution and of the building of the party and faithfully carry them out in the concrete situation of his own country. All the considerations of the Khrushchov revisionists and the bourgeoisie about these questions, who accuse us of being «Stalinists», «dogmatists», etc. are merely idle talk aimed at leading us away from the real road.

The teachings of Lenin and Stalin, the revolutionary experience of the Bolshevik Party, provide a brilliant example of how the party is built up, of how to build the dictatorship of proletariat, of how to build socialism, while everything of the Khrushchovites is to be discarded, exposed, mercilessly fought, for it is precisely they that are turning the Soviet Union into a capitalist country.

The modern revisionists now have in their hands the leadership and the apparatus of the workers' and communist parties as well as the trade unions. They are aware that their main danger comes from the working class, that is why they are striving to keep the workers under guard. The old social-democracy, whose slogans continue to deceive a part of the working class and keep it attached to its parties, is now allegedly indulging in polemics with the revisionists parties, but in fact it is only a question of dividing among them the crumbs from the capitalist dining table. Today there is no difference whatsoever between the revisionists and the social-democrats. They are all deceivers. They will strive in every way to deceive the working class in

order to keep it under their domination and influence.

The revisionist parties, where they are in power, under the «legal» cloak, under the force of «democratic centralism», without democracy in fact, allegedly under the laws of the Power of the «dictatorship of the proletariat», which in reality has been turned into a dictatorship of the new technocratic bureaucracy, bind the communists in heavy chains, while in the capitalist countries the communist and workers' parties which have been converted into revisionist parties are striving to keep the communists under their influence, transforming and breaking down the party norms, making them similar to those of the bourgeois parties, so that their so-called communist have only the membership card but no obligations whatsoever. In a word, he is no longer distinguished from among the masses, he is not of the vanguard.

In these circumstances the imperative task is laid down that the Marxist-Leninists should break the revisionist-socialdemocrat encirclement of the working class, liberate the latter from the bourgeois and reformist ideology, imbue them with class consciousness, so that they may not lose either their bearings or their characteristic courage. The appraisal in due measure and in the proper way, both in practice and theory, of the role of the working class, and of the work and struggle in their ranks, is of decisive importance. It is from here, and only from here, that they should proceed, and not from a closed and narrow circle of some individual intellectuals or of some individual students.

The working class must close their ranks, organize themselves. They must develop their own leaders from their own ranks, brave, faithful, militant, men of sacrifice, and should not allow hypocritical, talkative elements to take over the leadership and use it for their own career-seeking aims or for the interests of the bourgeoisie. The working class needs tempered, steel-like and intrepid people having a good understanding of principles. They will love such people, they will listen to them and will follow them in grass-root organisations, on the barricades, in strikes and in revolution. It is this way that the new revolutionary cadres will be trained and tempered, it is in this way that the working class and their allies will be won over, it is in this way that the modern revisionists and social-democrats will be exposed, it is in this way that imperialism and capitalism will be fought.

It is along this road that the working class will create their new bolshevik parties, loyal to the glorious revolutionary traditions and to the building of socialism, dedicated to the cause of Marxism-Leninism and capable of defending it from all external and internal enemies.

Real communists, revolutionaries cannot shrink from this imperative duty. It is true that this requires selfless work and struggle, but they have never feared sacrifices, however great they may have been. There is no war without damage or pains. The revisionists who have usurped power, of course will not allow the revolutionaries, the bolsheviks to organize themselves freely, to act legally, etc.; they will, for certain, persecute them, jail them, torture

them and even murder them. This however does not mean that the communists must give up the struggle, the action. Communists defend their views openly, even before the gallows. They are not afraid, if need be, of coming out into the street to protest, to call together the workers in the factory to speak to them, to expose the traitors at conferences, to write books and distribute leaflets. The Lenin and Stalin bolsheviks were never frightened either by Siberia or the Czarist trials. The Marxist-Leninist party is organized in concrete actions. Through concrete actions the working masses are educated for war and revolution. Out of bold actions come the healthy elements of the working class who will lead them in the struggle to overthrow the revisionist cliques. Through the daily, concrete, revolutionary struggle the bolshevik revolutionaries can and will build up their clandestine organisations in the ranks of the working class, of the collective farm peasantry and of the Army, of the State Security Service, in the various apparati of the State etc., so as to attack the revisionist clique on a wide front from outside and from inside to bring about their total destruction. The revolutionaries can and must defend themselves from revisionist attacks and make their struggle more effective.

Now the revolutionaries in the countries where the revisionists are ruling, may not be in large numbers within the party itself. But they must learn from the example from the history of the Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union, from Lenin who, when he was in a minority, being convinced of the correctness of his line, reserved to himself the right and exercised it to call upon the working

class to join him against opportunism or against the treachery of the various rightwing or leftwing factions.

The proletariat in many countries of the world must reorganise themselves, must guide themselves by their own real Marxist-Leninist ideology, they must launch an armed revolution and smash all the machinery of the capitalist, social-democratic and revisionist bourgeoisie, which are links in the chains of their enslavement. In their resolute struggle and in revolution the world proletariat will also have their allies who, in these revolutionary periods, will better clarify their positions and stands. These allies are awaiting their leader to take the battlefield. It is the battlefield, the drawn sword against imperialism and modern revisionism, that decides, and not the attitude of wait and see and of compromise. The latter always causes wavering of the possible and natural allies of the proletariat. The entire policy and the schemes of the social-democrats and modern revisionists jointly with the imperialists and world capitalists are aimed precisely at this.

A special historic responsibility, a particularly great role in the fight against revisionism, is incumbent upon the Soviet working class and revolutionaries who are overtaken by the gravest treachery ever committed towards a people and the greatest danger threatening a great country with a glorious background as is the case of the Soviet Union. Do they not see the great abyss towards which their homeland is heading for? Do they not see what a great harm the activity of the Soviet revisionists is inflicting on the international communist movement and on the national-liberation struggle of the peo-

ples? Certainly they see it, and the Marxist-Leninists and peoples of the whole world have confidence that the working class of the Soviet Union, the Soviet collective farmers, people's intellectuals, soldiers and youth will overcome the temporary upheavals caused to them by the revisionists. They will discard the harmful illusions spread by the treacherous khrushchevite leadership and will come down to the battlefield to overthrow the revisionist clique and to raise again the banner of Lenin and Stalin over the Kremlin and over the whole of the Soviet Union. The great Soviet people will for certain rise up one day and will again shake their powerful shoulders. The question is that the day should be advanced as much as possible, to cut short their sufferings, and to help also the other peoples who are under the revisionist yoke.

The Soviet bolshevik revolutionaries, as they put it in their programmatic leaflet, have clearly defined their road: «To overthrow the bureaucratic order in the USSR it is indispensable to have an organization of the revolutionaries, it is indispensable to have a bed through which to channel the anger of the people and the popular struggle. And for this we do not have to search long. There lies before us the tested road — the road of the re-shaping of the proletarian party . . . All those who are prepared to fight against bureaucracy, all those who dearly cherish the great revolutionary victories of our people and the cause of world revolution, must resolutely take this road. The hour has come. From the many and separate cells of the CP(b) of the Soviet Union and up to their merger into a powerful and invincible eruption which will sweep away the bureaucrats, — this is

the road that the Soviet communists must traverse. The activities of the cells of the CP(b) of the SU, their slogans and leaflets must develop into a real partisan struggle. The earth should burn beneath the feet of the bureaucrats.»

The Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries, the peoples of the whole world believe that the flames of revolution, the flames of bolshevism and proletarian internationalism, despite the efforts of the revisionists, have not yet gone out in the Soviet Union. They have not only the hope, but also the sure conviction that the Soviet revolutionaries, old and young, will once again blow on these revolutionary flames to burn up revisionism and to give a new splendor to the glorious history of bolshevism, to the immortal revolutionary cause of Lenin and Stalin, of those millions of heroes who effected the October Revolution, who defended their homeland from the Hitlerite hordes and who successfully built up socialism.

HX 632 A1 W9 no.449

World communism in the 20th
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